1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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132 In the rainy season great torrents of tropical rain fall daily, making
312 large portions of the mainland south of the Arafura Sea, for weeks and sometimes months at a time, a series of islands in a shallow sea of mud and water. Then, with rare interruptions, there is continuous
[137] drought for six or seven months. During the wet season tropical vegetation has sprung up everywhere; giant spear grass sometimes grows to twelve and fourteen feet in height, covering all the country and paths, making communication a difficult matter at best, and in many places impossible. The water recedes, the water holes become drier and drier, and a large number disappear entirely; birds and fish are gone, and the many varieties of lilies and yams disappear. It is then that the native appreciates the value of water, just as before he realized the harm it could do him. It is doubtful if anyone ever died of thirst in this country, but it is certain that many have felt its pangs. Deaths have occurred from the great floods. It is small wonder that with the food
[823] and drink of life dependent on the water holes, and possible death resulting from the great floods, the native has made water his chief symbol of the clan's spiritual life.

312 The water hole may be an ordinary small lake or billibong, a river
778 or creek flooding through the domain of the clan, a spring of water, or a native well or water hole; and in a few cases it may be the ocean itself, but this last form is usually associated with a tidal spring.* All the water holes found in the territory of a clan are divided into two classes: they are either garma wells or narra (ranga) wells. The first are totemic but not sacred; they were made by the lower order of totems, whose emblems may be displayed in camp and seen by the women. The narra wells are always sacred; they were made by the higher wongar totems, whose emblems are ranga (higher emblems) and can be seen only by the initiated young men after the age of puberty. A clan always has at least one and sometimes three or four of the latter.

778 The narra water hole is usually not taboo to women. They may
[562] obtain water there, bathe in the pool, and possibly fish or gather yams and lily bulbs. Occasionally a well becomes so taboo that no woman is allowed near it. Such is the great well, Mir-rir-min-a, of the

[192] *The following native terms are used: a water hole or well, mang-o-tji (literally, eye); a spring, mil-min-jerk; river, man-i (literally, throat); creek, par-ka; a small rill running from a spring or artesian well, ri-el-la; billibong, lum-mi (upper thigh); rock-basin water, gar-ra (rain) nar-ku-la (water); fresh-water bog, mar-a-ka; saline but drinkable bog water, gal-la-min-dir; the ocean, or salt spring, or any salt water which is undrinkable, ka-pu mon-ok (water salt).

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773 "Sister, you cook my food for me, too," said the younger one.

"Be patient," said the older. She then gathered some paper bark and fashioned a bed for her younger sister's newborn child. As she did this, she said, "By and by, sister, we must circumcise these two small sons of ours."

"Yes, sister," said the younger.

As soon as they cooked the food each animal and plant jumped out of the fire and ran to the Mirrirmina water hole and jumped into it. They all went into this Djungguan and Gunabibi well. The crab ran in first. When he did this, the two women talked Lisalaomir for the first time; before this they had talked Wawilak. The other plants and animals followed the crab. The yams ran like men, as did the iguanas, frilled-neck lizard, darpa, ovarku snake, rock python, sea gull, sea eagles, native companions and crocodiles.[6] Each ran and dived into the clans' totemic well and disappeared from sight.

B. The Python's Sacred Pool Is Profaned and He Swallows the Wawilak Women

3. The profanement of the pool.

The older woman went out to gather bark to make a bed for her sister's baby after it was born. She walked over some of the water of the Mirrirmina well. Her menstrual blood fell in the totem well and was carried down the sacred clan water hole, where Yurlunggur, the Big Father, lives.

4. Yurlunggur raises himself to swallow the women; the rain comes and the flood commences covering the earth.

When the menstrual blood dropped into the pool Yurlunggur smelled the odor of this pollution from where he was lying in the black water beneath the floor of the totem well. His head was lying quietly on the bottom of the pit. He raised his head and smelled again and again.

"Where does this blood come from?" he said. He opened the bottom of the well by throwing the stone which covers its base out of the well on to the land by the women's camp. (This stone is near the camp today [823] and can be seen by those who go there. "It is now a snake's head.") He crawled out slowly, like a snake does, from the well. When he came out

[6] One of the Lisalaomir leaders of the Wawilak ceremonies gave me the following list of animals and plants named and collected by the Wawilak sisters: "When they came from the Roper River they named iguana, bandicoot, opossum, snake, honeybee, fish, fresh-water fish and salt-water fish, shark, jabiru, shore birds, yam, big yam and little yam, water lily, water, salt water, fresh-water turtle and salt-water turtle, fresh-water snake and salt-water snake, all the different kinds of clanamen, lizard, small rat, brush turkey, and all the animals and things they saw." It was evident that he was attempting to make a definitive list of all the plants and animals, and that he was using as a memory device the names of the things he directed the chorus to sing in the various ceremonies of the Wawilak constellation.

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will we do?' 'Run and get some paper bark and make a panikin out of it.'" 852

"They tied up two panikins and put the blood in them and went to the ceremonial grounds. 796 773

"Take all the bird feathers and we will paint ourselves. You do this and I will go and cut Yurlunggur." 826

It is only the men's blood that is of the right quality for use in the Djungguan ceremony. Women's blood cannot be used. "Woman's and man's blood are just the same but woman's blood is no good. Wongar would not allow it to be used. He will only take men's blood." The blood is not only the menstrual blood of the women in the eyes of the old men; "That blood, that old woman's blood that ran out here [informant pointed to his pudenda], that blood is a live Wongar's blood too. He [the man who was giving the blood] does that for Wongar too. They blow that trumpet over him [the blood-giver] because the snake came out and smelled that woman's blood when she went after paper bark." These last statements were made within the totemic camp of the old men while they and I watched the young man who gave his blood for the first time.

When "Djili-djili-la" is sung after "blood" and "Yurlunggur," it, in singing form, "is just the same as when the snake comes out the first time," by which the various men who told me this meant "when Yurlunggur comes out" as described in Section C. In other words, these two parts of the ceremony are equivalent.—The next song, "Earthquake," was interpreted: "Those two women came to that place [Mirrimina]. Yurlunggur smelled them and turned over and moved the ground." Whenever an earthquake occurs in Murngin country it is always said that Bapa Indi (Yurlunggur or Muit) is moving in the subterranean waters.—When the next song, "Snake's Tongue" was sung, a leader of one of the Djungguan said, "Those two women try to stop that snake's tongue. He wanted to swallow them. That is what this means. They gave his tongue an inside [sacred] name." Another man said, "When that trumpet blows he is singing out and asking, 'Which one has got strong blood?' It is like he is choosing the man he wants. When he gets that man he plays all over him just like he was licking him. He did those two Wongar women that way before he swallowed them. This makes the man's blood come out quick and easy."—After the next song, "Dua Lightning," the leader of one of the ceremonies said, "That is the forked tongue of the snake. Storms and thunder come from him. That is

852 796 773 533 [823]

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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The Wawilak Configuration and the Seasonal Cycle

821 Throughout the native interpretation in which the Wawilak myth
713 and the four rituals are connected point by point and integrated, there is a continual association of the rain and flood with the python which gives us a clue to the wider meaning of the python symbol to the Murngin. The Murngin definitely associate the Wawilak python with the weather and seasonal change. The climatic ideas which surround the python are not latent but conscious and manifest in Murngin thinking. Here we shall examine the python as a weather symbol.

132 The outstanding general natural phenomena are the great seasonal changes which produce heavy rainfall and floods for five months, and for seven months an extremely dry season in which there is no rain and many of the streams, lakes, water holes and inlets dry up. Correlated with this cycle of rainy and dry seasons are the attendant phenomena of changing winds and clouds, greater and less heat, growth and decay of vegetation, birth and growth of the different species of animals, and the appearance of certain birds and insects and the disappearance of others. There is constant need of drastic change in the adaptation of the Murngin economics and technology to fit the constantly changing natural environment.

133 The other fundamental natural phenomenon which is always dramatically before one's eyes is the relation of the land to the ocean, tidal lakes, and rivers. The great tides pour inland for scores of miles, reaching into the flat coastal plains which stretch back to the broken and difficult highlands in the interior. The flat coast land is continuous along the Sea of Arafura and the Gulf of Carpentaria.

823 The Murngin have a most accurate knowledge of the locational, seasonal, and daily variation of the tides. Anyone who has taken a canoe trip with them along the seacoast quickly learns that this knowledge is immense in detail, well organized, and held by all the men. To the Murngin mind the flow of the tide into the Murngin land stands in opposition to the flow of the rivers, particularly at flood time during the rainy season. The reason is obvious when we realize the great heights of the incoming tide and the tremendous flow of flood water which goes to the sea during the rainy season.

133 The central plain which extends from thirty-five to sixty miles in-
134 land at sea level is composed of Tertiary deposits which have produced a very poor soil. Inland the altitude increases from several hundred to a thousand feet. Arnhem Land's highest point (to the west and
000 south of the Murngin) is said to be only 1500 feet high. Because of

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

The Totemic Place, Jalboa, of the Thunder-man, Tjambuwal

About four miles north-west of Yirrkalla is a short headland, from the point of which a small reef extends into the sea. This headland, called Jalboa, is the totem place of the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal* (Fig. 57).

On its southern end the distorted rock strata of the cliff have formed into a number of more or less vertical irregular gutters which, according to the myth, are made when *Tjambuwal* urinates. On the point of the cliff about fifty yards to the north are the rocks which are shattered by *Tjambuwal* (Pl. 91E) when he strikes them with his club, *burununda*, and on its slopes a number of white stones, *milarik* (Pl. 91F). It is these, or the spirits of them, which *Tjambuwal* throws into the sky to make thunder-clouds.[69]

On the adjacent beach are two small casuarina trees (Pl. 91A), once the bodies of *Tjambuwal* and his relatives. Not far from these casuarinas is a large fig tree (Pl. 91B), the transformed body of another of *Tjambuwal's* relatives. The fruit of this fig tree is sacred, as indeed is the whole area at the base of the cliff. No one would dare to eat that fruit, for he would surely die, nor would he dig for ochre in the base of the cliff for, if he did, *Tjambuwal* would kill him. Should the women even look at the place where *Tjambuwal* urinated they must atone for their misdeeds by a gift of food to the members of the thunder-man's totem. If not, *Tjambuwal* will make them ill.

The Thunder-man, Bolngo (or Tjambuwal) at Wulwulwi, Koolatong River

This version of the *Tjambuwal* myth places the totemic site at Wulwulwi, on the Koolatong River. The myth differs slightly in detail, but not in general form, from that at Yirrkalla; *Tjambuwal* becomes *Bolngo*;[70] the looped clouds, *wulmu*, become *djalijal*; and *Bolngo* urinates from a high tree,[71] instead of, as in the *Tjambuwal* myth, from the clouds.[72]

On the middle panel of Pl. 89B is *Bolngo* urinating on the ground beneath. This urine later rises into the sky and becomes rain. There is a line of hailstones, *milarik* (shown as ovals) to the right of *Bolngo*, and looped clouds, *djalijal*, above his head. The series of squares[73] on either side of *Bolngo* symbolize the open sea near Wulwulwi.

The Thunder-man, Tjambuwal, at Naitjulma, Arnhem Bay

When the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*, was camped at Naitjulma, Arnhem Bay, two of his sons died and their bodies were transformed into white stones, called *milarik* or *jarambai*. At the beginning of the wet season the thunder-man throws

69. See bark paintings of *Bolngo*, Pl. 89B.
70. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 41, refer to the thunder-man under the name of Bunngu.
71. See myth of *Bolngo* on cancel page, p. 393. 72. See myth of *Tjambulwal*, p. 282.
73. This is the design belonging to the *dua Djapu mala* of Caledon Bay language group (Fig. 63A).

[Text continues on p. 289]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 · OII7 Muragin OII7

This was a signal for a number of *Bukalatji* men, who were hiding among the trees, to attack the unsuspecting *Muruma* and spear him to death. His body is now a rock which projects out of the sea near the shore at Jalboa (map, Fig. 57).

Two bark paintings illustrate the mythical story.

The central figure in Pl. 96A is *Muruma*. In one hand he holds four fish and in the other a twin-barbed fishing spear with which he has transfixed another fish. The crescents above his head and on the left-hand side of the painting represent curious loop-like clouds, *wulmu*.[96] The circles and cones along the right and left-hand edges are also clouds. In the upper part of the painting *Muruma* is asleep under a tree, with the fish (upper left) cooking on the fire, *a*, beside him.*

Plate 96D deals with the death of *Muruma* at the hands of the *Bukalatji*. In the centre is *Muruma* spearing fish and stingrays. In the lower left he is resting by his camp-fire, around which are the fish he is cooking. The *Bukalatji* are grouped along the upper edge. At the right, the unfortunate *Muruma* is being speared by one of the *Bukalatji*. Already there are many spears in his body.

Nakundia and Munuratan

Nakundia and *Munuratan* were two fishermen who once lived at Blue Mud Bay. One day, on returning to their camp after a day's fishing, they were set upon and speared to death by aborigines from a hostile group.

In the lower right panel, *a*, of Pl. 96C are *Nakundia* (lower) and *Munuratan* (upper), both with a large fish in each hand. Above them is their canoe with the sail set. The next two panels to the left are the oval ceremonial grounds, similar to those used in the *arawaltja* ceremonies of Groote Eylandt (Fig. 6). Still further left is one of the fishermen standing on a rock, shown as an oval beneath his feet, with a fish in each hand. Above him are five fishing lines with hooks and sinkers attached. In the lower left, *b*, of the left-hand lower panel, one man (unidentified) is spearing another (possibly referring to the death of either *Munuratan* or *Nakundia*). There are six spears to the left of this group. The designs on the upper half at *c* are totemic rocks and a palm tree, upper right.

The men responsible for the death of *Nakundia* and *Munuratan* are shown in the central transverse panel *d*, while in the upper left panel, *e*, are the two dead fishermen transfixed with spears. At the right of the same panel are many fighting spears of a type used only in avenging ceremonies.

Minjapa and Wuluwil, the Turtle Fishermen

Two mythical fishermen, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, one day captured a large turtle. They brought it into Jalboa, about three miles north-west of Yirrkalla,[97]

96. These clouds, *wulmu*, also belong to the thunder-man, *Tjambuaral*, Pl. 90D. It is evident that *Muruma* and *Tjambuaral*, both belonging to the *dua* moiety, are associated in the mythical stories.

* Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings - Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XXVI.

97. This is also the totemic place of *Tjambuaral*, the thunder-man, and *Muruma*, the fisherman.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 . . Ch17 Muragia Ch17

and cut it up in the same manner as do the aborigines of today. The fishermen, the canoe and the pieces of turtle meat are now natural features at Jalbua.

In the upper right of the painting, Pl. 96B, *Minjapa* and *W'uluwil* are spearing the turtle. They are shown again seated on either side of a rock, a black circle. Below them are two casuarina trees, Pl. 91A,[98] which grow near the totemic place. The metamorphosed bodies of the two men, *Minjapa* and *W'uluwil*, now the turtle-rock[99] Ai-aika (Pl. 97A), are indicated at *a*, on the outer edge. There is a similar design immediately beneath the turtle. A semi-circular design near the tail of the turtle is the metamorphosed canoe, now a low red rock in the shallow water (Pl. 97C, on the left). The oval *b*, on the lower edge of the painting, is the carapace of the turtle (Pl. 97B). In the lower right are two pieces of flesh, *baineu*, from the inside of the turtle's front flippers, and above is the club, *barlait*, with which the hunters killed the turtle. Above the carapace are two pieces of meat (more or less triangular figures) from the chest, called *tuitui*. The fat from the creature is indicated by a barred oval on the extreme upper left. The turtle-spear and spear-thrower are on the right-hand edge at *c*. Immediately to the left of them are two more pieces of meat from the inside of the front flipper.

The fishermen, the canoe, and the parts of the dismembered turtle have all been transformed into natural features on the sea-shore at Jalbua. The turtle-rock, Ai-aika (Pl. 97A) is the metamorphosed bodies of the turtle fishermen, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*. The canoe is a small low rock on the extreme left (Pl. 97C), the carapace (Pl. 97B) and parts of the dismembered turtle (Pl. 97D) large eroded boulders on the coast.

There is hardly a rock or a tree in this locality that is not linked, in one way or another, with either *Tjambuaal*, the thunder-man, *Muruma*, the fisherman, or *Minjapa* and *W'uluwil*, the turtle-fishers.

Tjuna-tjuna, W'ururunga and the Bukalatji

Two brothers, *Tjuna-tjuna*[1] and *W'ururunga*, were the first people to live on Dambalia (Bremer Island). They were paddling to the mainland in their bark canoe on one occasion when they noticed smoke among the trees and, on sneaking ashore, saw a *Bukalatji* man, *Djunmundia*, asleep by the fire. He was wearing, around his neck, a particularly large carrying-bag.

The brothers said to each other, "This is the man who killed our father last year. We now have our chance to pay him back."[2]

98. The same trees as those mentioned in the *Tjambuaal* myth.

99. The aborigines throw stones on the top of this rock in order to ensure success in catching turtles.

1. In the myth associated with the two carved heads, Pl. 139D, E, *Tjuna-tjuna* is called *Buaraumia*.

2. Blood feuds are common in Arnhem Land and the cause of most of the killings. They can, however, be ended at a ceremonial peace-making fight, the *makaraka*. See Warner (1937), p. 174, also the myth of crocodile and stingray and the origin of the first *makaraka*, Pl. 122D.

[text continues on p. 305]

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●823
133
[941]

A

B

C

D

PLATE 97. Totem places, Jalhoa

A The turtle rock, Al-aika
B Totem rocks of turtle carapace
C Totem rock of canoe
D Totem rocks of dismembered turtle

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Oil7 Muragin Oil7

After performing the dance of the tiger snake, *dunbania*, they each painted the death mark of the snake on their faces[3] and cast their spears at the sleeping man. These passed through both his chest and carrying-bag, killing him instantly.

The two brothers, waiting until the wives of *Djunmundia* returned from food-gathering, captured them and, putting them aboard the canoe, paddled to an island north of Bremer Island. During the night, however, the women escaped, swam to the mainland, and told the *Bukalatji*,[4] relatives of the murdered *Djunmundia*, how their husband had been murdered. When the two brothers discovered their loss they returned to their camp on Bremer Island.

During the next few days the *Bukalatji* worked hard making a number of bark canoes. Waiting until there was no moon, they launched them and paddled to Dambalia. Leaving their canoes to the north of the island, the *Bukalatji* crept through the low scrub to surround and kill *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga*. But the brothers heard them and, in their flight, came by chance on the bark canoes, which they started to cut to pieces with the large steel knives which the Malays had given them. They had almost finished their work of destruction when the head man of the *Bukalatji* came up and begged them not to destroy his own canoe, so that he could take all of his people home. The brothers relented and allowed the *Bukalatji* to depart.

After some time the two brothers left Bremer Island and went to live near Cape Wilberforce, where they met and married two women from the nearby islands. The wives were out collecting oysters one day when the *Bukalatji* again attacked the brothers and this time succeeded in killing them. This so enraged the women that they attacked the *Bukalatji* with the knives belonging to their husbands and killed them all. *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga* were then transformed into goannas and their camps on Bremer Island into trees. Between those trees there is a path, which must be kept clean by the local aborigines.

On Pl. 98A the two brothers, at *a*, are paddling their canoe to the mainland. On the left, at *b*, they are holding their spear-throwers and avenging spears in their hands. The elder brother, *Tjuna-tjuna*, is on the right. At *c* is their enemy, *Djunmundia*, transfixed by the two avenging spears, one of which has passed through both his chest and his carrying-bag (cross-hatched oval). In the lower right panel *d*, black circles enclosing the goannas are totemic trees mentioned in the myth; the parallel lines, the path between them; and the curves, nearby sand-hills.

The Man, Balomarati, and the Paper-bark Trees of Matamataui

Between Trial and Caledon Bays is a river, Gainmaui. Near this river is the Matamataui swamp,[5] about half a mile across and filled with paper-bark trees.

3. The death mark, shown on the carved and painted head of *Banaramin*, Pl. 139D, E, is painted on the faces of all the men who take part in an avenging ceremony.
4. These are the mythical people who killed *Muruma*, the fisherman. See Pl. 96D.
5. This swamp is also mentioned in the myth of the three men and the bush-fire, Pl. 93B.

[text continues on p. 307]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Oil7 Muragia Oil7

parallel sand-hills and the lizard walking on the soft sand, as they were seen and 'sung' by *Djunkgao* at Port Bradshaw.[30] On the lower left-hand panel the lines of cross-hatching symbolize the light on the crest of the breaking waves, seen by *Djunkgao* as he landed on the beach at Bilapinja Island.[31]

The Green Turtle, Gariwa

Plate 102C, D pictures the coffin of a man belonging to the totem of the mythical green turtle, *gariwa* (*Chelonia mydas*), whose totemic place is on the floor of the sea between Yirrkalla and Bremer Island,[32] On one side of the coffin, Pl. 102D, are two green turtles, *gariwa*, and on the other, Pl. 102C, in the left-hand panel, is a dolphin, and in the right an unidentified turtle, *jurnungi*. The cross-hatched band between them is the totemic rock at the bottom of the sea and the surrounding cross-hatching, the ocean.

The Water Totem, Kapu

These two coffins belonged to *dua* men of the *kapu*, water, totemic place near Blue Mud Bay, where three fresh-water streams run into the Koolatong River.[33] One, Pl. 103C, appears to belong to the fresh-water side, and the other, Pl. 104B, to the salt-water side of the totemic locality.

The transverse bands encircling the coffin, Pl. 103C, are the three water-courses mentioned in the myth. The lower cross-hatched vertical panels represent the 'new' water, i.e. the fresh water which flows into the river after the heavy rains. The lines of dots on the upper section of the coffin are frog's eggs, the cross-hatched areas between, running water, and the short transverse lines at *a*, logs lying in the bed of the streams.

On Pl. 104B the lines of rectangles[34] represent the waters of the sea, and the groups of lines encircling the coffin, ridges of sand left by the receding tide.

The Brolga, Tungaldji

When the brolgas (*Grus rubicundus*) were men, during creation times, they used to walk between the Meilinourit waterholes in the extensive swamp country of Diaunjari, Blue Mud Bay.

Later these men transformed themselves into brolgas, which still live in considerable numbers in that locality.

Plate 104D is the painted design on a bark coffin belonging to a man of the *tungaldji*, brolga, totem. The circular designs are the Meilinourit waterholes. Paper-bark trees, *mamburu*, now grow in the swamps. The radiating paths are those made by the brolga men as they travelled from one waterhole to the other in search of food.

30. Bark painting, Pl. 86A; myth, p. 273. 31. Bark painting, Pl. 85F; myth, p. 271.
32. See carved figure of green turtle, Pl. 111A, B; myth, p. 417.
33. Map, Fig. 57.
34. This is the *mata* design of the *djapu* language group, Fig. 64A.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Oil7 Muragia Oil7

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aboriginal foods there are many coco-nut trees and much tobacco.[43] These exotic foods do not exist in the *dua* heaven.

(i) *The Journey of the Dua Spirits of the Dead*

As soon as the mourners have left the final burial ground, the *dua* spirit leaves his bones, and entering a bark canoe, is paddled by a *Mokoi*, the first man who died, to Jumundi, a jungle on the western shores of Melville Bay. At Jumundi he meets a number of other spirits called together for the occasion by the two *Mokoi*, *Wulunwait* and *Bunbulama*.[44] The new spirit and the *Mokoi* dance all night, carrying in their hands the jungle-flower, *wakora-nani*, collected by the woman, *Bunbulama*. When morning comes the spirit of the dead man and his ghostly boatman leave for Dambalia, accompanied by a number of dolphins.[45]

The boatman and his companion spend the next night at Dambalia (Bremer Island), performing ceremonies and dancing. This time they carry in their hands the red flower of a yam called *mawoka*.[46] Next morning the spirits start on the last stage of the journey for the distant isle of Purelko. After paddling for many days toward the sunrise and the place where the morning star, *barnumbir*, rises above the horizon, the two boatmen, accompanied by many dolphins, reach their destination. As they land and walk along a path a masked plover, *berrk-berrk* (an onomatopoeic name), which has been watching for their arrival, rises from the ground with a shrill call, a call which tells the inhabitants of Purelko of the arrival of a new spirit. The leader of Purelko, *Jaualin-wuna*, a man with a painted penis, meets and welcomes the new arrival and offers him wives and food.

After the new spirit has met his wives, established his camp and satisfied his hunger, he is welcomed by many of his old friends. Later, when walking through the trees, he surprises two women who are gathering food. The women run quickly to their camp, distinguished by the smoke rising from the many cooking fires, and tell the men of Purelko that they have just seen a new spirit. The men form themselves into a line, spears in hand, and wait. When the dead man sees them, he endeavours to distract their attention by dancing first the brolga dance, then the moon-fish dance. But the spirit men of Purelko quietly wait until the visitor has finished his dances before they cast their spears into his body, one

43. The aborigines believe that the coco-nuts, lengths of bamboos and occasionally canoes (see engraved pipe, Fig. 63B) which are cast up on the Yirrkalla beaches during the northerly, *lungurama*, winds are sent to them by the spirits of Nalkuma. The *lungurama* winds (see winds, p. 133) which originate at Nalkuma are also a gift from the spirits of the dead. [823 824]

44. See myth of *Wulunwait* and *Bunbulama*, p. 296.

45. Warner (1937), p. 366, records that the porpoises (dolphins) take the spirits of the *dua* Milingimbi men to Purelko. At Yirrkalla, the dolphins carry only the spirits of the *dua* children to Purelko. [825]

46. In one account, a ceremonial object made from the yam, *mawoka*, and its flower is taken from Dambalia to Purelko, where it was transformed into the morning star, *barnumbir*. It is not clear whether this flower is carried by every spirit that passes through Dambalia, or whether it was made in creation times, and is now permanently at Purelko.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Muragin OII7

attached to *barnumbir*, pull it back and imprison it in the cave until the next morning.[55]

On the lower left of Pl. 101A is *Jumundik*, with his wooden trumpet to the left of him and his two music sticks to the right. On the right is *Dalnuranu*, who, with *Jumundik*, is in charge of Djiraia. His wooden trumpet, *a*, and music sticks are on his right. The footprints are those of the *Mokoi* spirits at Djiraia. There was no explanation for the fish. The white circle on the top of the central design is the morning star, *barnumbir*, and the long rectangle below, the rays of light, called *balai-aba*, which issue from it.

A number of spirit people provide food for the inhabitants of their respective 'heavens'. *Turi-turi* is one of them.[56]

One day *Turi-turi*, an expert fisherman, set out in a bark canoe to hunt for turtles. When he was far out to sea, a heavy storm came up, broke the canoe in halves and drowned *Turi-turi*.

After his death the spirit of *Turi-turi* went to Purelko, where he still spends all of his time catching green turtles for the inhabitants of that spirit land. The *dua Mokoi*, *Balu-balu*, also provide food for their companions at Purelko.[57]

Plate 106A shows the man, *Turi-turi*, paddle in hand, standing in his canoe. To the left is the green turtle he wanted to capture. The white cross-hatching on the lower edge represents the waves which destroyed *Turi-turi's* canoe and finally drowned him. The remainder of the background is the sea.

(ii) *The Journey of the Jiritja Spirits of the Dead*

When, at the completion of the burial ceremonies, the bones of the dead man are placed in the log coffin, the spirit leaves its bones, with which it has been associated since death, and, guided by the call of the jungle-fowl, makes its way to a forest, Gurila, north of Port Bradshaw. There it is met by female *Mokoi* called the *Wulu-wulu*,[58] whose duty it is to assist the spirit of newly-dead to reach the *jiritja* 'heaven', Nalkuma. The *Wulu-wulu* takes the new spirit to another *Mokoi*, *Kultana*, the head man of Nalkuma, who first gives him two paddles, then instructs him how to make a special wooden canoe, called *jililbun*,[59] in which both can travel to Nalkuma. When the canoe is finished and the two are ready to set out on their journey, the women, *Wulu-wulu*, give the new spirit two seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *menin* vine (*Mucuna gigantea*),[60] which will serve him as a passport to Nalkuma. Any spirit who tries to gain admittance to the land of the dead without this passport is hunted away.

55. This is similar to the Yirrkalla myth of the morning star, p. 326, except that at Yirrkalla the two women object to the release of the morning star.

56. The myths of *Turi-turi* and the *Balu-balu* are analagous to those of the *jiritja Mokoi* who come to Cape Arnhem in their wooden canoes to capture dugongs for the inhabitants of Nalkuma.

57. See myth of *Balu-balu*, p. 172, associated with a painted paddle, Pl. 144E, F.

58. See myth of carved figure of *Wulu-wulu*, p. 343.

59. In another part of the same myth this canoe is called *Lampu*.

60. See Pl. 108C for illustration of these seed pods.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

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panel *f*, are welcoming the new spirit to his future home. In the upper part of *e* the new spirit is resting quietly in his camp after the ceremony is over.

Plate 100E also deals with the journey of the *jiritja* dead to Nalkuma.

On the upper left of panel *a*, the new spirit is asking the *Wulu-wulu* for the seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *menin* vine (Pl. 100C), so that he can enter Nalkuma. Three female *Mokoi*, the *Wulu-wulu*,[62] are picking the seed pods to give to him. The black bird is the jungle-fowl whose call has guided the new spirit to Gurila jungle. At *d*, the new spirit and the boatman, *Kultana*, are in the *Mokoi* canoe, *Lampu*, while in the bottom is a dugong they have captured and are taking with them to Nalkuma. To the left of the canoe are two dugongs, the white cross-hatching at the tail of the lower, and above the upper one, representing their wake. Panel *b* is the sandy shore at Port Bradshaw, *c* the shallow water, and *d* the open sea.

(2) The Totemic Places and Creatures of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem

423 614 *773 [616]

In north-eastern Arnhem Land, where strong patrilineal clans or *mala* have the complete ownership of certain areas, the totemic places in those clan territories belong exclusively to the moiety of the aborigines who own the land. To show the richness of the mythology associated with one particular area, but which is typical of others, I have grouped all the art objects relating to the *jiritja* myths of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem in one section.

616 *773

The area around Cape Arnhem, and, so far as I could ascertain, within the harbour of Port Bradshaw, having been created by a number of *jiritja* mythical men and creatures, is owned today by *jiritja* men of the *gumaitj mata* or language group. Although the *dua* ancestors, *Djunkgao* and *Madalait*, landed on Aparina Island, at the entrance of Port Bradshaw,[63] they do not appear to have entered the harbour, but established their camp at Jelangbara, a few miles north of its entrance. Jelangbara is the property of the *dua* men of the *riredjingu mata*. [423]

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Even though most of the *jiritja* totemic beings of Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw were harmless marine creatures, several of them are still feared. For instance, in a group of submerged rocks at Daliwa, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw, lives the serpent, *bilumbira*.[64] Should aborigines paddle too near his home, *bilumbira* will rise to the surface and with his long teeth, tear them and their canoe to pieces. The dugong, *merinjunga*,[65] at Nangata, south of Cape Arnhem, blows up smoke and fire to destroy his enemies, while the hawksbill turtle, *kouyaradji*,[66] creates heavy seas which drown those who intrude on his domain. Within Port Bradshaw are two other dangerous creatures, the devil-ray, *mulara*, and the trepang, *teripi*. The former creates huge waves, and the latter spurts up fountains of water to destroy any trespassers.

825 [823]

62. See carved figure, Pl. 100c.
64. See myth of *bilumbira*, p. 351.
66. See myth of turtle, p. 117.
63. See myth of *Djunkgao* and the *Baijini*, p. 273.
65. See myth of dugongs, p. 303.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Oll7 Muragin Oll7

that they can help the spirits of the newly dead on their journey to Nalkuma, *Wulu-wulu* giving them the bean of the *menin* tree,[90] a passport into the *jiritja* heaven, and *Kultana* assisting to paddle them across the sea to their future home.[91]

The Mokoi and the Turtle Hunt

Plate 110E is the story of a turtle hunt by some of the *Mokoi* who had paddled in a wooden canoe from Nalkuma to Cape Arnhem, and the incidents connected with the hunt.

The three *Mokoi* paddled through rough water (four cross-hatched rectangles, *a*, on left of right-hand panel) to reach a group of rocks (squares with diagonal lines at *b*) so that they could spear the turtles living among those rocks. On their way the spirit-men saw a devil-ray, *b* (*Daemonata alfredi*).[92] The large gills are shown as slits, and the fat within the body as a crescent. In the left panel are dugongs, *merinjunga*, feeding on the submarine grass, *gumata*. The fish are *tinimbu*, queen fish, and squares with diagonal lines, rocks in the sea frequented by the turtles, upper edge.

The Mokoi and the Dugong, Merinjunga

Two mythical dugongs, *merinjunga* (*Dugong australis*), which once lived in the sea at Cape Arnhem were continuously being pursued by the *Mokoi* who came from the *jiritja* heaven, Nalkuma. The *Mokoi*, however, were not always successful because, just as they were about to spear the creatures, a storm would develop and allow the dugongs to escape.[93] Later the canoe was transformed into a large rock on the sea coast between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw, and the dugongs into a rock in the water near by. The place of the stingray, which also appears in the painting, is a hole in the ground. When travelling in their canoes the aborigines will not go near the totemic place of the dugong, for if they did the dugongs would send up so much smoke and fire that they would be destroyed.

On the land, near this totemic place, is a paper-bark tree, once a dugong, which resembles that creature in appearance, and near by is a termite mound also a transformed dugong. When the aborigines wish to increase the supply of dugongs at a particular locality they take a branch from the dugong tree and a piece of earth from the termite mound and throw them both into the fire. When the wood is burnt to ash the men take the heated termite earth from the fire, pound it into dust, mix it with the wood ash and throw the mixture into the sea where the dugongs feed. This dust from the totemic tree and the termite mound will create many dugongs in that locality.[94]

90. Pl. 109C. 91. Myth, p. 331.
92. This huge, cumbersome but harmless sea-creature sometimes reaches a length of fifteen feet and a weight of a ton.
93. Dugongs can only be captured on windless days when the sea is calm.
94. This increase ritual is not unlike that carried out at the increase centre for parrot-fish at Winchelsea Island, p. 84.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

baron, a stingray, *kawangalk-miri*, two hawksbill turtles, *kouwaradji*, and the turtle rocks shown in Pl. 110E. In panel *f* there are two stingrays.

The Queen Fish, Tinimbu, the Turtle, Kouwaradji, and the Octopus, Mainda

The upper panel of Pl. 106C contains four octopi, *mainda*, and a turtle, *kouwaradji*, and in the bottom panel three queen fish, *tinimbu*, and a number of octopi. The figure at the lower left, to which two octopi have attached themselves, and on which one of the queen fish is resting, is an unidentified totemic rock on the bottom of the sea between Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem.*

The Whales, Welerria and Morokundja, and the Stingray, Kawangalk-miri, at Cape Arnhem

In the early days, two mythical whales[1] lived in large caves at the bottom of the sea at Cape Arnhem. The male was called *welerria*, and the female *morokundja*. They had as a companion a stingray, *kawangalk-miri*. At the close of the creation period the whales and the stingray went into the sky and are now portions of the Milky Way near the constellation of Orion.

The first figure to the left of Pl. 106D is the female whale, *morokundja*, the next is the male, *welerria*, and the third the stingray, *kawangalk-miri*. The two dark-coloured rectangles, *a* and *b*, at the upper right and left, are caves at the bottom of the sea where the whales once lived. The white cross-hatching is sea-water and the darker-coloured cross-hatched panels, water which was clouded by the stingray when it was feeding along the bottom. The parallel lines above the heads of the whales symbolize the water parting as they swam and the white triangle on their heads, their blow-hole.

Totem Place of the Devil-ray, Mulara, and the Whale, Morokundja, at Nantjaka, Cape Arnhem

On the upper left of Pl. 108B is the devil-ray, *mulara*, surrounded by panels of triangular designs representing clouds. On the upper right is a whale, *morokundja* (most likely *Megaptera australis*).[2] The cross-hatching surrounding the whale indicates the disturbance it creates as it swims through the water.

On the left, at *a*, are two oval rocks, the haunts of the hawksbill turtles and sailfish, *kunderunga*, shown to the right of the rocks.

The three triangular designs, *a*, and the three anvil shapes, *b*, above them are clouds. Reading from *c* at the right edge, the subjects of the panels are: sea-water, a panel of clouds, a line of octopi, sea-water and another line of octopi. Nantjaka, at Cape Arnhem, is the totem place for all the creatures represented in the painting. Interpretation by F. M. Setzler.

*Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XXVI.

1. Warner (1937), p. 365, describes the totemic dance of the whale in the *jiritja* *lara* ceremonies of the Murngin tribe.

2. This whale later went into the sky and became part of the Milky Way near the constellation of Orion, Pl. 157D.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*773 *532 changed themselves into plovers and flew to another country so that they would not meet him again. The totemic place, Niliala, of the echidna is now a line of rocky cliffs on the sea coast, a few miles south of Port Bradshaw.

The painting, Pl. 113B, is divided into two parts. The lower relates to the mythical story of the plover and echidna-men of creation times, and the upper to the present-day creatures.

In the lower left-hand corner, at *a*, is the echidna-man, *Tjiramuna*, and his two wives. At *b*, they are asleep under a tree, shown to the left. At *c* are the plover-men, *Tjutju*, casting their spears at the unfortunate echidna-man. The small oval to the lower right of the dead echidna-man is his camp-fire. In the upper portion of the painting, the echidna and his two wives, in black, occupy the central panel, and the plovers are on the extreme left. The cross-hatched area *d* indicates the rocky cliffs of the totem place, Niliala, of the echidna-man.

The Wallaby, Moutia, and the Cockroach, Borok

*773 This myth explains how the sea became salt, the origin of the swamps in Arnhem Land, the jungle wallaby and the cockroach.

●823 During creation times a wallaby-man, *Moutia*, and his wife, *Borok*, lived near Melville Bay. One day the couple filled four bark dishes with water from the sea, which in those days was fresh, and placed them in the jungle to keep cool. *Moutia* then asked his wife if she would remove some of the vermin from his hair. She agreed and, with the head of *Moutia* in her lap, spent some time at the task. When she had finished she asked *Moutia* if he would do the same for her, but he refused very rudely, saying that he was too tired and wanted to sleep. This so infuriated the woman that she quarrelled violently with her husband. Then, to punish him further for his discourtesy, she waded into the sea, their only source of fresh water, and urinated to make it salt.

But, so that she would not suffer hardship from her own action, *Borok* transformed herself into a cockroach (probably a terrestrial *isopod*).[12] When the husband, *Moutia*, saw what had happened he, in turn, changed himself into a wallaby and hopped to Meleton Island in Melville Bay.

Borok, in her anger, had thought to deprive her husband, and, consequently, the rest of creation, of fresh water. But her plans for vengeance miscarried because she had forgotten the four bark dishes filled with fresh water which she and her husband had left in the jungle. That water was transformed into the extensive swamps of eastern Arnhem Land, the source of many of the rivers which flow into both the Gulf of Carpentaria and the sea on the northern coasts of Australia.

*773 *532 The four boat-shaped objects on the left of Pl. 113C are the bark dishes which *Moutia* and his wife filled with water and placed in the jungle. In the centre of the painting is *Moutia* with his head in the lap of his wife, and on the

[136] 12. This creature, which lives under bark or dead trees in the jungles, is able to exist on the moisture gathered from its environment.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Ol17 Muragin Ol17

bottom edge is his wife, *Borok*, urinating in the sea. Beside her is the cockroach into which she later transformed herself. On the upper right the leaf-shaped design symbolizes Melville Island in Melville Bay, where the wallaby made its home. The oval near the right knee of the wallaby-man, *Moutia*, is a totemic rock associated both with him and his wife.

The Native-cat man, Baracuma, and the Hawk-man, W'abula

In the early days of the creation period, a native-cat man, *Baracuma*, who lived near Blue Mud Bay, owned the only fishing net in the world. It was so good that, whenever he cast the net into a nearby stream, he caught, in a short time, all the fish that he required.

One afternoon he decided that, instead of fishing in the river, he would go to a nearby lagoon. Again he caught many fish, and had just spread them out on green leaves, preparatory to cooking them, when his friend, *W'abula*, the hawk-man, paid him a visit. On seeing so many fish, and hearing about the excellence of the net, the hawk-man asked *Baracuma* to lend it to him. But *Baracuma* demurred, explaining that his life was so intimately associated with the net that it it were out of his hands for any length of time he would die. *W'abula*, however, assured *Baracuma* that he ran no risk whatever, because even if he, *W'abula*, were unsuccessful in his fishing, he would bring the net back in time. The native-cat man, *Baracuma*, persuaded against his will, allowed the hawk-man to take his net away.

But the fish were so numerous that *W'abula*, not realizing the truth of the story about the intimate association between *Baracuma* and his net, continued to use it, even though he could hear the distressed *Baracuma* calling out. When at last *W'abula* returned the net to its owner he was, from all appearances, dead. When *W'abula* threw the fishing net over the native-cat man, however, its contact gave him strength, and he slowly revived.

After that distressing experience the native-cat man refused to lend his net to anyone, even though *W'abula*, in particular, pestered him day after day, always promising to return it quickly. One day *Baracuma*, sorry because *W'abula* was hungry, lent him the net, but impressed upon him the urgent need for its speedy return. Remembering that his thoughtlessness had almost killed his friend, the hawk-man returned the net quickly. After that *W'abula* kept his contract so well that *Baracuma* gradually lost his fear of lending it.

Then one day, when the fishing was not good and *W'abula* was hungry, he continued in pursuit of a particularly large fish, even though he knew he was exposing his friend *Baracuma* to great danger. But when, on capturing the fish, *W'abula* returned the net he found that his greediness had killed the native-cat man, for on that occasion not even winding the net round *Baracuma's* body would bring him back to life. A kangaroo-man, who had seen the whole incident, transformed the dead *Baracuma* into the native-cat and *W'abula* into a hawk.

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

The Bandicoot-men, Warnt-kura

During mythical times the bandicoot-men, *Warnt-kura*, made a nest at Bian-bian-bui, close to the Gainmaui River where *Wirili* and his companions allowed their camp-fire to set fire to the countryside.[22] Although the fire destroyed the nest of the bandicoots, the creatures themselves escaped destruction by running away. The place where the bandicoot made his nest is now an open plain, in the centre of which is a lagoon filled with large paper-bark trees. According to the myth, the fire is still burning under the water of the lagoon, although no one can see it.

Plate 116D shows two bandicoots, *warnt-kura*, in their burning nest at Bian-bian-bui. The lines of lozenges represent the bush-fire and the cross-hatched left-hand panel, smoke from the fire.

On Pl. 116B the bandicoot is on panel *a*, with panels of fire, *b*, *b*, on either side of him. The bands between the lozenges indicate the charcoal and ashes. The cross-hatched panel, *c*, is a dry watercourse near the totemic place of the bandicoot. At *f* is the man, *Munijoi*, who was associated with the bush-fire on the Gainmaui River; the flames of fire are indicated on the left-hand panel. The footprints are those of the men at the ceremonial ground.

The Geese, Wurumatji, at Duwalaila Swamp

During creation times large flocks of geese, *wuyumatji*, once lived on the Duwalaila swamp east of Arnhem Bay. Their food was the bulbs, *rakia*, of the spike rush.

One day, when they were feeding in the middle of the swamp, *Tjambuwal*, the thunder-man, passing overhead in a cumulus cloud, called out (thundered) so loudly that the geese took fright and flew to another swamp on the mainland south of Milingimbi, where they have remained ever since.

Plate 128C is a painted ceremonial object associated with the mythical geese. The cross-hatched vertical panels, *a*, *a*, *a*, are low hills near the Duwalaila swamp, and the circles, waterholes in the bottom of which (indicated by dots) are white stones and *rakia* bulbs. The transverse lines, *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*, are streams of running water and the horizontal lines on both the right- and left-hand panels, aboriginal roads between the waterholes.

This design, belonging to the *jambakbinwa mata* of Arnhem Bay, was painted on the body of a *dua* initiate before initiation (see body painting, Pl. 129D).

(4) Reptiles

The mythical serpent occupies an important place in the beliefs and the ceremonial life of the aborigines of Arnhem Land, as, indeed, it does, or did, throughout the whole of aboriginal Australia.[23]

The beliefs surrounding the serpent *jurlungur*, which swallowed the *Wawalik* sisters, went into the sky and caused great floods,[24] forms the bases of the most

22. Myth, p. 293, Pl. 93B.
23. Brown (1926), p. 24; Mountford (1948), p. 145.
24. Warner (1937), ch. ix.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*773 *532 825 edge, those made by the mythical man as he walked to Milungwira, and those on the left, where he returned.

Plate 121A refers to the dog, *dulairuju*, and his pursuit of the rat, *nik-nik*, in the Milungwira swamp. On the top edge of the painting is a line of dog tracks. Below them are four white herons surrounded by their footprints. At *a* is a male and female dog, each holding a rat, *nik-nik*, in its mouth; the male dog, *dulairuju*, is on the left. Below is a transverse panel, *b*, of dingoes and their tracks. The central panel, *c*, is swamp grass, the home of *nik-nik*. At *d* is a panel of dingo tracks, and at *e* another panel of five dingoes. In the middle of panel *f* the rat, *nik-nik*, is hiding from the dog in the middle of a thicket of swamp grass; *g* is a line of five white herons, *balir*, and their tracks.

On Pl. 121C the bulk of the painting consists of sinuous bands (running water), joined by straight lines (ripples on the surface of the water). The rectangle in the middle of the lower panel is the swamp, Milungwira. In its upper section four cormorants (*Phalacrocorax* sp.) are chasing four fish, called *bilda*. In the panel below are more cormorants. The transverse bands indicate subsidiary swamps at Milungwira. Reading from the left, the figures on the bottom panel are: three clouds, *balda*, the mythical man, *Laitjun*, four frogs, and five logs lying in the water of the swamp.[53]

Plate 121D is another bark painting associated with the topography of Milungwira. The top cross-hatched band, *a*, is the bed of the river, Girituwi, in which there are many waterfalls and rapids. The fish-shaped design in the lower panel is a totemic rock, called Tikorora, whose bottom, according to the myth, is in the mud and whose top is in the clouds. The four short transverse lines of *532 825 lozenge-shaped designs above and below Tikorora indicate whirlpools which form at its base during heavy rains.

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The Island, Garabi

[823] [616] Garabi is a string of small islands outside Caledon Bay, all belonging to the *jiritja* moiety. In creation times, when the creatures were men, the islands were the home of the hump-backed whale, *morokundja*, the stingray, *barindjinou*, the queen fish, *tinimbu*, the crocodile, *barou*, and the hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*. Later these mythical beings transformed themselves into creatures which still frequent Garabi and their bodies into natural features in the adjacent country. The whales are two rugged islands, part of the Garabi chain. They also went [821] into the sky and became a section of the Milky Way,[54] near the constellation of Orion.

During those early times the crocodile man, *Barou*, murdered one of the stingray people. When the head man of the stingrays heard of the murder, he met and fought the crocodile, finally wounding him with the spear he now carries in his tail. This fight made everything square and established the first *makaraka*,

53. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.
54. See astronomical myth of Orion and the Pleiades, p. 498.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

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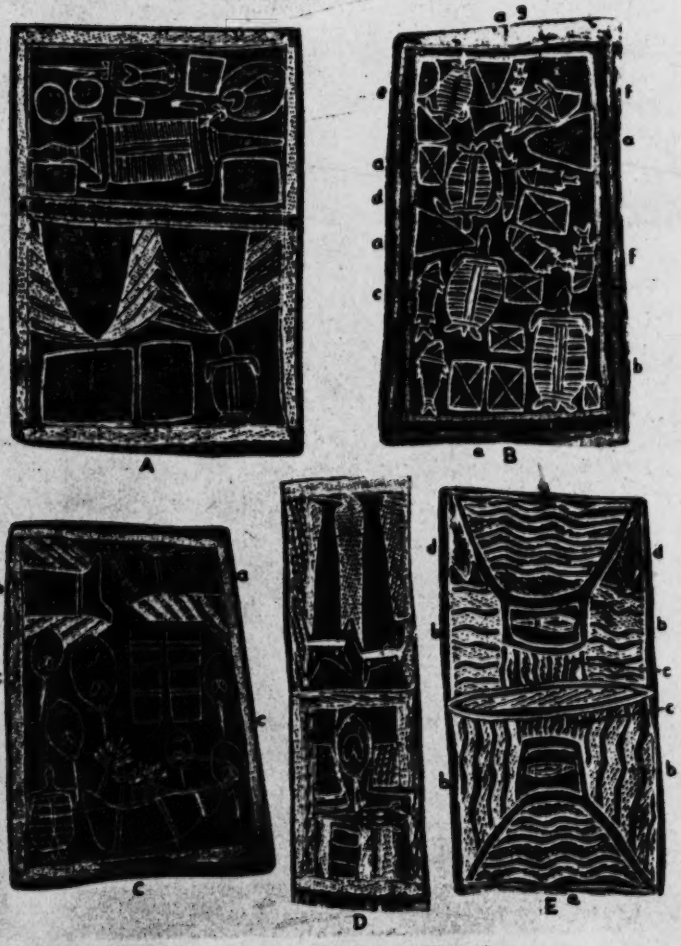

PLATE 122. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla
The Garabi Islands

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or ceremonial peacemaking fight, a custom which has been carried on by the aborigines ever since.[55]

The aborigines made five bark paintings of Garabi and its creatures.

Plate 122A pictures Wakwala, one of the islands of the Garabi group. The two rectangles in the lower panel are the totemic places of the hawksbill turtle and the crocodile. The cone-like figures above are thunder-clouds, with rain falling from them. A hawksbill turtle is on the lower right. In the upper panel is the crocodile and several stingrays. Around them are squares and circles which indicate where the stingrays once buried themselves in the sand.[56] These are now rocks on the sea coast. On the upper right the stingray is attacking the crocodile with his spear to avenge the death of a relative.

Plate 122B illustrates the Garabi Islands and the sea-creatures which live in the surrounding waters.[57] The islands and the large rocks of the Garabi Islands are indicated by *a*, *a*, *a*, and similar designs. There are four hawksbill turtles at *b*, *c*, *d* and *e*, rock cod at *f*, *f*, and a small fish, *joulpark*, at *g*. On the left-hand side of the turtle at *c* are two queen fish.

Plate 122C is another representation of Garabi. At the bottom of the painting is one of the islands of the Garabi group with five unidentified palm trees growing from it. The aborigines eat the young shoots of these trees, which they call *bulmarih*. At *a* and *b*, on the top edge of the painting, are two thunder-clouds with rain falling from them (cross-hatched panels). A hawksbill turtle (lower left) lays its eggs in the sandy beaches of the island and gathers its food from among the coral rocks (four rectangles right of centre). The rain falling from the clouds, at *a*, *b*, has stimulated the six stingrays, *c*, *c*, to go to the mangrove swamps and produce their young.[58]

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The upper panel of Pl. 122D pictures two of the hump-backed whales. Later they went into the sky and their bodies became islands at Garabi. In the lower panel is the stingray spearing the crocodile. The cross-hatched panels on either side of the stingray, and the black rectangles below the crocodile, are holes made by the stingray when, during mythical times, it buried itself in the sand. These holes have since been transformed into boulders projecting from the sea.

Plate 122E is a descriptive painting of a place at Garabi where swollen streams muddy with the wet-season rains pour into the ocean and mix with the clear sea-water. The semi-circles, *a*, *a*, represent the muddy flood-waters diffusing into the sea; the meandering lines, *c*, *c*, at the bottom of squares depict a mixture of muddy and clear waters, and those at *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*, the uncontaminated sea-water. In squares at the bases of semi-circles *a*, *a*, are mangrove seeds which have taken root in the mud, and at *c*, *c*, two bone fish, *jungulu*. The long ellipse symbolizes a mangrove tree, *banduma*, growing in the mouth of the stream.

55. Warner (1937), p. 174, gives a detailed description of the *makaraka*.
56. When stingrays are alarmed they bury themselves in the sand to escape notice.
57. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.
58. See myth of stingrays on painted panels, Pl. 108E, F, p. 310.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 O117 Murngin O117

patterns, the comb of a hive of wild bees, associated in some undefined way with the tortoises. 532*

Fish and Eggs

Plate 126B refers to the spawn and developing young of an unidentified fish which lives in the swamps south of Milingimbi. The dotted lines symbolize the developing fish, and the sloping lines between, the spawn.

The Kangaroo-man, Gardjambal

Plate 126C belongs to Nulwadjbir, situated on the southern end of Bucking- 773*
ham Bay, the totemic place of the kangaroo-man, *Gardjambal*, who is shown 532*
seven times in this painting. The design at the bottom of the right-hand panel 778
is the stone axe of the kangaroo-man; the remaining ovals are his tracks. 823

The Serpent-men, Jurlungur and Gadjalan

Plate 126D pictures the two serpent-men, *Jurlungur* (upside down) and *Gadjalan*, creators of the country of Mirrimina.[66] Each mythical man is wearing a tall feather head-dress. To the right of both *Jurlungur* and *Gadjalan* are their spear-throwers, spears and wooden trumpets.

The Two Sisters, Miwal and Wanu-wanu

Plate 127A pictures two mythical women, *Miwal* and *Wanu-wanu*,[67] in their bark hut at Djimlu, a place in a jungle near the Gardji swamp. This swamp is on the mainland south of Milingimbi. The long tassel in the middle of the bark painting is the central pole supporting the bark hut. Within this pole there is a hive of wild bees, the dots representing the bees and the honeycomb. The two women, *Miwal* and *Wanu-wanu*, with their hands upraised, are at the top of the painting. The remaining designs were not explained.

Unidentified Totem, Galdar

Plate 127B pictures a totemic place, Budjala, in eastern Arnhem Bay, which 823
belongs to an unidentified totemic creature, called *galdar*. At some time during 778
the creation period *galdar* struck a rock at Budjala, causing so much water to flow that it overwhelmed two men who were guarding some sacred objects. The ancestral people swam to an island, where they rested until the flood had subsided.

The four lines of lozenges, *a*, *a*, represent the running water, and the three transverse panels, *b*, *b*, *b*, the sand-banks in the stream. The four rectangles with the projections at each end are the sacred objects. There was no explanation for the fish.

66. It was the serpent, *jurlungur*, which swallowed one of the Wawalik sisters at the Mirrimina waterhole, see myth. p. 275, and Warner (1937), p. 250. Warner places this waterhole on the Glyde River. The Rev. Ellemor's informants say that Mirrimina is an extensive swamp between the Wellen and Buckingham Rivers. Both Warner and Ellemor, however, place the waterhole in the same classificatory. Lindanmbi. 133

67. The Rev. Ellemor considers these two women are similar to the *Wawalik* sisters. See Warner (1937), p. 250; and myth. p. 278.

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THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

The Saw-fish, Nalgan

Plate 127C belongs to the saw-fish, *nalgan*, totem of Milingimbi. Four saw-fish are depicted, two in the upper panel at *a*, *a*, and two in the lower at *b*, *b*. In the lower panel a fresh-water tortoise is shown between the tails of the saw-fish. Scattered throughout the drawing are small star-like designs which represent the star-fish, *midjala*. These fish provide food for the tortoises. The oval designs between the star-fish represent seaweed, *djiwul*, and the dots, its fruit. The two fish on the right side of the upper panel are called by the native name of *wangulbu*, and the three transverse cross-hatched panels, *c*, *c*, *c*, are sand-bars near the totemic place. There are three flying fish, *digar*, at the upper edge of the bark painting.

The Turtle, Wilim

The totemic place of the turtle, *wilim*, pictured in Pl. 127D, is an island called Nulgumin-numa, situated north-west of Elcho Island. The triangular patterns occupying most of the surface of the bark painting are clouds created by the three turtles spraying water into the sky. Two king-fish are shown in the clouds, one at *a* and one at *b*.

2. SMOKING PIPES AND MYTHS

As far as I am aware the long smoking pipe, Fig. 59A, B, is used in Australia only by the aborigines of Arnhem Land and the adjacent islands.

Tobacco smoking was introduced by the Malays within the last century or so when they visited Australia during their periodical journeys to collect trepang and pearl shell, though the *Baijini* myth suggests that the aborigines may have become acquainted with tobacco at an even earlier date. After the Commonwealth Government, about 1910, prohibited the Malays from coming to Australia the aborigines continued to use the Malay pipe, smoking either a substitute or European tobacco, occasionally issued by white traders and missionaries.

In general, the pipes[70] are made in a few minutes from the pithy stem of a shrub (*Guettarda speciosa*). The aboriginal removes the pith with a thin stick, plugs one end with bark, cuts a hole in the side an inch or more from the end, fits a bowl[71] saved from the old pipe, and, except for the engraving, the pipe is complete.

The pipes I collected are about an inch in diameter and varied in length from eight inches at Groote Eylandt to thirty inches at Yirrkalla, Fig. 59B. It was necessary to have a longer pipe stem at Yirrkalla so that there would be sufficient room for the totemic designs. In use, Pl. 124D, the aboriginal takes a

70. The bowls of the early pipes were made of tin-plate and carefully treasured. Since the last war, most pipe bowls are made from shortened cartridge cases. As mentioned earlier, the aborigines recognize the difference between the *Baijini* pipes, which are similar to those used by Europeans, and those of the Malays. The *Baijini* were a mysterious group of fair-skinned people who once camped at Port Bradshaw, myth, p. 333.

71. Warner (1937), p. 461, refers to the smoking pipes of the Murngin, near Milingimbi, and Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 102, to those at Yirrkalla.

[Text continues on p. 391]

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pinch of tobacco, presses it tightly into the bowl, and lights it either with a coal from the camp-fire, or a burning twig. He fills his mouth and lungs with tobacco smoke, then passes the pipe to a companion, who does likewise. This usually exhausts the supply of tobacco, but if there is any left the pipe is either passed to another aboriginal or back to the first man.

Most of the smoking pipes at both Groote Eylandt and Yirrkalla are covered with engravings. Those at Groote Eylandt had herring-bone patterns which did not appear to have any specific meaning, but those at Yirrkalla and Milingimbi all bore complex designs, most of them illustrating totemic stories belonging to the sacred life of the men. Because of this, the owners kept the stems wrapped in paper-bark, Fig. 59A, so that the decorations could not be seen by the women when the pipes were used in the main camp. The bark painting of *Wanatpa*, Pl. 95B, shows him holding a Malay pipe in either hand.

As the engravings on the Yirrkalla pipes entailed considerable time and effort, the aborigines were not always willing to part with them. They allowed me, however, to make rubbings of the patterns. These are reproduced in the text figures.

The Crocodile, Baroa

This pipe, Fig. 59C, is associated with a *jiritja* totem place of the crocodiles, *baroa*, which is on the Kariatpa[72] swamp, Caledon Bay.

The diamond-shaped designs in panel *c* of Fig. 59C are the swamps at Blue Mud Bay. The next panel shows the crocodiles, *b*, lying in the swamps at Kariatpa. Round the reptiles, the designs *a*, *a* represent swamp grass and crocodile eggs.[73] The two lines of lozenge-shaped designs at *d*, *d* are the Kariatpa swamps.

The Fresh-water Tortoise, Mimala

When the fresh-water tortoise, *Mimala*, and his wife were human beings they lived at Calabalbai, a totemic place on the banks of a fresh-water stream flowing into the sea south of Milingimbi.[74] One day the fresh-water tortoise made a carved human figure, *mimalatuna*, which he carried a long way inland and hid in a sacred place where no women could see it. Being tired after his journey, *Mimala* laid down and went to sleep. On waking up he found he was particularly warm and comfortable, for his body had sunk so deeply in the soft mud that he was almost covered. He saw, too, that the surrounding country was covered with swamp grass and rushes, interspersed with many streams of fresh water. *Mimala*, pleased with the warmth of the mud and the close proximity of so much grass and water, changed himself, and later his wife, into fresh-water tortoises.

From that time the tortoise, *mimala*, has lived either in the fresh-water streams and swamps or the grass that grows near by.

72. Myth, p. 368.
73. These are similar to the *mata* design of the *gumatj* language group of Caledon Bay.
74. See log coffin, Pl. 105B, and bark paintings, Pl. 119A, 126A.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 O117 Murngin O117

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streams during the heavy rain; and the parallel lines, *f*, *f*, rocks and sand-bars in the bed of the river.

The Man, Laitjun, and his Fish Trap

In the early days, a man called *Laitjun*[77] made a fish trap on the Koolatong River, in which to catch *paipinga*, a fresh-water fish. The aborigines still use the same kind of fish trap.

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Fig. 61 shows the present construction of the trap. Across the Koolatong River the aborigines constructed a weir by driving sticks into the bed of the river, leaving an opening in the centre. The space between the sticks was filled with branches, grass and earth, and across the opening an almost submerged paper-bark raft was anchored. When fish are needed the aborigines assemble at the trap and, by running about and beating the water downstream, drive the fish toward the opening. When they reach the partly submerged raft, the fish endeavour to jump over it, but become stranded on top, where they are caught.

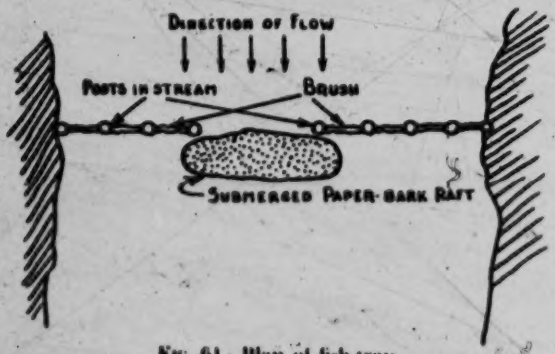

Fig. 61. Plan of fish-trap

On Fig. 60D the parallel lines, *a*, *a*, *a*, are the sticks driven into the bed of the stream and the diamond-shaped patterns the water running between them. The aborigines explained that they would have included the raft in the pipe engraving, but there was not sufficient room. The four groups of parallel lines, *b*, *b*, are trees fallen across the river.

The Fresh-water Goannas, Djerilka

The mythical fresh-water goannas, *djerilka*, lived in a totemic waterhole on the Cato River, near Melville Bay.

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The panel *a* in Fig. 62A is the totemic waterhole of the *djerilka*, the herring-bone design symbolizing the water. In panel *b* are the male and female goannas. The female on the top is leaving the waterhole in panel *a*, and the

77. See myth of *Banaitja* and *Laitjun*, p. 279.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

The yams are engraved in panel *a*, and their foliage indicated by the decorative chevron-like designs at *b* and *c*. The pattern *d* on the upper right, with a meandering line down the centre, is a small fresh-water stream near the totemic place.

The Man, Tualpa, and the Sacred Tree of Blue Mud Bay

This painted pipe represents a sacred tree which once grew on the shores of Blue Mud Bay. One day a man (unnamed), not knowing that the tree was sacred, cut it down to make a special spear, called *bunungaia*. *Tualpa*, the owner of the tree, was so angry over the vandalism that he speared the culprit. The dead tree now lies at the mouth of a lagoon emptying into Blue Mud Bay. During the wet season it is submerged by the fresh water flowing from the swamps into the sea. When the swamps are dry, the log is sometimes covered by the high tide.

The transverse bands, *e*, *e*, on Pl. 128B represent the tide marks on the tree; the cross-hatched panel, *a*, the fresh water; and *b*, *c* and *d*, the sea-water, which during the dry season alternately covers and uncovers the tree-trunk.

The Four Jiritja Men of Melville Bay

During *buimun* (creation times) four *jiritja* men,[83] *Djamburi*, *Wanatpai*, *Dandaranga* and *Kainoltja*, created a number of natural features at each of their camps along the shores of Melville Bay.

Plate 128A is the complete design of the painted pipe: *a* is *Djamburi*, *b* is *Wanatpai*,[84] *c* *Dandaranga*, and *e* *Kainoltja*. Each of these men is smoking a pipe. The four squares at *f* are four wells, each man having his own. Their footprints are in panel *e*.

3. BODY PAINTINGS

In north-eastern Australia the art of body painting is most important, for it is by means of the designs painted on the novices during the various age-grading ceremonies, and on the fully initiated men whilst engaged in their totemic rituals, that the totem, the clan group, *mala*, and the linguistic group, *mata*, of each individual can be recognized. As far as the present evidence goes (the investigation is far from complete) it seems that each *mata*, which may include several *mala*, has its own specific design, which is the personal property of that group and cannot be used by any other.[85] During the circumcision ceremonies[86]

83. It is the mythical men of the *jiritja* moiety only who smoke. It is of interest to notice that the four men depicted on this pipe are not smoking the long Malay pipe, but one which resembles those used by our own party, called by the aborigines *Baijini* pipes. Nowadays all aborigines smoke, but a member of one moiety will not use a pipe decorated with the designs of the opposite moiety without the owner's permission. If he did so, the spirit of the pipe would make him ill.

84. See back painting of *Wanatpai*, Pl. 95B.

85. See myth of the origin of the design of the crabs, *ganapa*, p. 298.

86. In north-eastern Arnhem Land the boys are circumcised when they are from six to eight years of age.

[text continues on p. 402]

CARVED AND PAINTED FIGURES

(1) YIRRKALLA

The Green Turtle, Gariwa

In creation times, when the *dua* green turtle, *gariwa*, and the *jiritja* hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*, were men, they lived together on the beach at Yirrkalla. One day, when the two men were discussing some trivial matter, the hawksbill man lost his temper and speared the green-turtle man. The wounded man was so enraged over this unjustified attack that he changed himself into the green turtle. His totemic place is now at the bottom of the sea, between Yirrkalla and Bremer Island.[1] 532* 773* [823 778]

Plate 141A, B, E is two carved figures, in the round, of the present-day green turtle, *gariwa*. The designs on the back represent the shell pattern of the carapace.

The Serpent, Wununga

This staff, from Milingimbi, represents *wununga*, the mythical serpent, whose voice is the sound of the log gong, *nwar*.[2] This serpent, also called *mait*,[3] lives in a large waterhole at Milingimbi. The staff is used in the *narra* rituals. [534]

The main design on Pl. 134A is the mythical serpent, *wununga*; the smaller designs are young snakes, the progeny of *wununga*. No explanation was obtained for the chevron designs on the upper part of the staff. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.

The Night-bird, Karuwak, and the Opossum, Marungo

The night-bird, *karuwak*, is associated in some undetermined way with the *Mokoi* of the dead.[4] In another mythological story[5] *karuwak* (probably one of the owls) was friends with the opossum, *marungo*. [776]

The Ceremonial Staff. This staff, Pl. 134E, is used in the totemic ceremonies of the night-bird, *karuwak*. It represents a totemic tree near Cape Shields, on which *karuwak* sat to talk to the opossum. The carved figure on the top is the night-bird. The same design is repeated lower down. The wavy lines have the same meaning as those on the bark painting of *marungo* and *karuwak*,[6] i.e. the marks made by the opossum as it wandered round the base of the totemic tree where *karuwak* was perched. 532* 773* 778

The Shark, Mana, at Blue Mud Bay

For myth, see p. 372.

The Carved Figure. On Pl. 132A the series of rectangles means the same as those on the bark painting of the shark, *mana*,[7] i.e. dead palm leaves floating

1. See painted coffin of turtle-man, *Gariwa*, Pl. 102B., D.
2. See log gong, Pl. 147A, C; also Warner (1937), p. 314.
3. The serpent *mait* which, in the myth of the *gunabibi* ceremony at Milingimbi, swallowed the *Waralik* sister, although considered by some to be more powerful than *julungur*, is really the same mythical creature (see Warner, 1937, p. 372).
4. Myth, p. 312.
5. Bark paintings, Pl. 115A; also engraved ceremonial message sticks, Fig. 46A, B.
6. Myth, p. 302.
7. This is the symbolism employed on the bark painting of *mana*, Pl. 119B.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

murdered turtle man, *Madapang*, is now a large rock on the mainland opposite Bremer Island.

Plate 144G, H shows the obverse and reverse sides of the paddle.

The upper panel on the reverse side, G, is occupied by the *dua* green turtle, *garrwa*, and the lower by a similar but larger turtle, *madapang*. The latter is the turtle who, when a man, was killed by the *Mokoi* at Melville Bay. The short transverse panels of cross-hatching near the head and tail of the turtle, *madapang*, indicate seaweed, the food of the creature, and the long panels on either side, the sea.

In the upper panel of the obverse side, H, are five dolphins, called *injipana*, and in the lower, five dolphins of a different species, called *bulanbir*. The cross-hatched panels indicate smooth sea water at the totemic place.

The panels at the head of the upper turtle indicate where the reptile dug in the sand to lay its eggs; the long panels on either side represent sea-water. The rounded end of the paddle indicates that it belongs to a man of the *dua* moiety.[20]

(2) Painted Paddles and Spear-throwers from Groote Eylandt

On Pl. 145 are four paddles from Groote Eylandt, A, B, C, D and E.

No interpretations were gathered of the various designs painted on the paddles. In the upper panel of Pl. 145A is the figure of a man associated with what appears to be a wind symbol,[21] on Pl. 145D a dugong and a turtle, and on Pl. 145E another dugong. Collected by F. D. McCarthy.

On Pl. 146 are four spear-throwers from Groote Eylandt, A, B and C, D and E, and F. Although, as with the paddles, no interpretations were gathered, it is possible to distinguish a dolphin on D, and a turtle and possibly a bandicoot on E. Collected by F. M. Setzler.

(3) The Log Gongs

Two log gongs were collected in Arnhem Land, one (Pl. 147A, C) called *mur*, by F. M. Setzler and F. D. McCarthy, whilst engaged on archaeological research at Milingimbi, and one (Pl. 147D) called *ubarn*, by myself, at Oenpelli.

Warner, when carrying out research among the aborigines of Milingimbi during 1927-8, saw the log gong in use and gives a full description of its function.[22] According to him, the gong, which is beaten with a frayed section of pandanus root, is used only in the *ulmark* cycle of ceremonies. When the women hear the sound of the gong, which they believe is the voice of the serpent *muit*,[23] they assemble in the camp and continuously repeat the call, *kait-bo*. This call protects the women from harm, it being the same as that used by the

20. For shape of a *jiritja* paddle, Fig. 58A, B.

21. Bark painting of south-east wind, Pl. 24D. 22. Warner (1937), pp. 315-16.

23. Another name for *julunggur*, the mythical serpent, who swallowed the *Wawalik* sisters (see myth, p. 278, and Warner (1937), p. 372).

[text continues on p. 456]

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Warner[14] has a variant of this myth, in which it is the parrot-fish who decides that, when he dies, he will remain dead. The aborigines contend that the parrot-fish was a 'silly fool'.

Plate 155B illustrates the legend of the moon-man, *Alinda*, and the parrot-fish man, *Birima*. In the centre are the two opponents belabouring each other with clubs; on the lower left is the dead parrot-fish with his weapon lying beside him, and on the lower right, the dead moon. The parrot-fish is depicted on the lower left, and the moon, in its various phases, near the upper edge.

The Moon, Nalimba

The aborigines believe that in the early days of the world the moon, *Nalimba*, was a man who spent much of his time collecting a yam-like plant, *warulki*. His sister, a dugong-woman, *Balaokman*, who lived in and around the swamps near by, collected *rakia*, the spike-rush, for food. One day the dugong-woman was searching for *rakia* when she inadvertently walked through some itch weed which, once her skin became dry, set up an intense irritation. She tried many remedies, but without success, until in sheer desperation she dived into the sea. Finding that water stopped the itching, she said to the moon-man:

'I'm going to change myself into a dugong, and stay in the sea forever.'

'If you do,' said the moon, 'I'll live always in the sky.'

So, true to his word, *Nalimba* left the earth, taking the yams, *warulki*, with him.

One day, as the dugong was sleeping on the surface of the water, two pandamus-tree men, *Gurun-gurun*, decided to kill her for food. But just as they were about to do so a large wave breaking on the beach frightened the dugong away. The *Gurun-gurun*, in disgust, transformed themselves into pandanus trees.

Since then the moon has lived in the sky, the dugong in the ocean, and the pandanus tree on the edge of the sea and the watercourses.

At the same time, associated in some way not ascertained with the moon and the dugong, there was a man, *Guripun*, who with his young wife was collecting *rakia*. They were tying it up in bundles when the string broke, scattering the *rakia* everywhere. That *rakia* now grows in many of the swamps of Arnhem Land. Disgusted by their misfortune, the couple went into the sky and became the stars Arcturus (Alpha Bootes) and Saak (Eta Bootes). When the star Arcturus appears in the eastern sky the aborigines know that the *rakia* is mature and ready to collect.

Connected with the myth of the moon, *Nalimba*, is a belief, similar to that held by the Groote Eylandters,[15] of an association between the moon and the tides. When the moon is new or full, and sets respectively at sunset or sunrise,

[171] [823]

14. Warner (1937), p. 323. There are several other myths of Arnhem Land that explain the origin of death: the moon-man, *Alinda*, p. 193; the native-cat, *Barrama*, p. 357; and the myth recorded by Berndt (1948a), pp. 46-50, which bears some resemblance to that of *Nalimba*, the moon man, p. 195. In the Berndt version, belonging to the *pitjo* moiety, however, it is the dugong which brings death to the world.

15. See Groote Eylandt myth, p. 184.

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the tides are high. When the moon is in the zenith at sunrise or sunset, the tides are low. The aborigines, noting these facts, believe that the high tides running into the full and new moon make it fat and round. When the tides are low the water pours into the sea beneath and the moon becomes thin.

Plate 156D illustrates the myth of the moon, the dugong, the man, *Guripan*, and his wife. The moon, *Nalimbu*, is the central semicircle. Above, the three torpedo-shaped figures are the yams, *waralki*, which he took into the sky with him. The stars on either side of the moon represent the man *Guripan* and his wife, whose misfortune was responsible for the plentiful supply of *rakia*.

On the right of the lower panel is the dugong-woman, *Balwookman*, and on the left the footmarks of the pandanus-tree men, *Guran-guran*. The cross-hatching in the lower panel symbolizes the large wave breaking on the beach, frightening the dugong just as the pandanus tree men were about to spear it.

Plate 156C deals with the same myth, but with less detail. Again the torpedo-like designs are the yams, *waralki*, taken into the sky by *Nalimbu*. The moon, as a crescent in the first quarter, is called *moilboni*, and as a disc, lower left, is *bunuk*. The cross-hatched ring, which is regarded as the wet-weather camp of the moon, represents the halo commonly seen round the moon during misty weather.

The Southern Cross and Pointers, Baluing

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The Southern Cross and Pointers are looked upon as a stingray (the Cross) being eternally pursued round the southern sky by a shark (the Pointers). The myth is associated with Caledon Bay.

In Pl. 155D the four upper stars in the painting (the Southern Cross) represent a stingray, and the two lower stars (the Pointers) a shark, which is chasing the stingray. These creatures are shown to the right. The wide difference between the myths of the Southern Cross at Yirrkalla and Groote Eylandt[16] less than one hundred and twenty miles apart indicates a minimum of social contacts between the two tribes.

[648] [174]

The Milky Way, Milinuia

In creation times the Milky Way, *milinuia*, was a watercourse near Blue Mud Bay.

At that time two brothers, *Nungumiri*, the elder, and *Jikuraum*, the younger, went fishing in a bark canoe. When near Woodah Island[17] they caught a rock seal, *guruka*, and were on their long homeward journey when a heavy storm sprang up. A large wave fell aboard, badly straining the frail bark canoe and filling it with water. The next wave, breaking the canoe in halves, left the brothers struggling in the sea. For many hours the two brothers swam towards the distant mainland. Then the arms of the younger brother became so swollen he had forgotten to remove his arm-bands that he finally collapsed and was

16. Groote Eylandt myth, p. 185. 17. Map, Fig. 1.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

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Cross; and the probable existence of a simple calendar, based on the movements of the heavenly bodies.

The myth of the moon as a man appears to be both universal and the most important in aboriginal astronomy.

At Groote Eylandt, the moon did no more than abduct a woman and her children as companions, p. 484; but on the mainland of Arnhem Land there are several myths which tell of how the moon brought death to the world, whilst he himself is eternally reincarnated, p. 493, p. 488, p. 495. Spencer and Gillen[26] record a similar myth from the Aranda tribe of Central Australia. This belief, however, is not universal, for Parker[27] states that, in the Euahlayi tribe of western New South Wales, the moon brings the children to the woman, and Mountford[28] was told by the natives of the northern Flinders Ranges of South Australia that the moon was once a man who, having been coaxed into the sky by his sister's sons, had been unable to return.

The Groote Eylandt and Yirrkalla myths which link the waxing and waning of the moon with the tides are of interest. On the other hand, the sun, who is a woman, takes a minor place in aboriginal mythology. Spencer and Gillen[29] describe a sun ceremony. There are also Groote Eylandt and Yirrkalla myths of the sun, p. 481, p. 502.

[823]

Throughout the aboriginal star myths the stars in the constellation of Orion are regarded as a man or men and those of the Pleiades as a group of women. In Arnhem Land, p. 482, p. 493, p. 498, in the Wheelman tribe of Western Australia,[30] and among the aborigines of northern South Australia,[31] the Pleiades are wives and daughters of the men of Orion. In western Central Australia, the women of the Pleiades are always being pursued by the man of Orion,[32] and in Victoria[33] the Pleiades are a group of young women singing a tune, to which the men of Orion are dancing.

The myths associated with the Milky Way are usually, but not always, similar to each other. In Arnhem Land, p. 479, p. 487, p. 496, the Milky Way is a water course from which the sky people gather food. Maegraith[34] found that the Central Australian aborigines believe the Milky Way is a river which divides the sky people into two adjacent tribes. Parker[35] states that the Euahlayi tribe of New South Wales looked upon the Milky Way as a watercourse, and Howitt[36] mentions a similar belief among the aborigines of Queensland, New South Wales and northern South Australia. Smyth,[37] however, describes the Milky Way as the body of two enormous snakes which made the River Murray. The body of the snakes, however, may be a sky river.

The Magellan Clouds are always camps of sky people. At Groote Eylandt, p. 484, they are the camps of an old man and woman, and at Yirrkalla, p. 500,

26. Spencer and Gillen (1899), p. 561.
27. Parker (1905), p. 50.
28. Mountford (1937), field notes.
29. Spencer and Gillen (1899), p. 549.
30. Hassell (1934), p. 237.
31. Mountford (1939), p. 105.
32. Mountford (1948), p. 155.
33. Smyth (1878), p. 434.
34. Maegraith (1932), p. 19.
35. Parker (1905), p. 95.
36. Howitt (1904), p. 432.
37. Smyth (1878), p. 434.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Significance of the Djanggawul

These material objects, then, such as the sacred *rangga*, bag and mat, are focal points, or symbols, through which we may grasp the significance of the concept as a whole. The mat is a uterus symbol; so is the whale, although used in this sense only incidentally. Here is the source of all life, for it was from the Uteri of the Sisters that the first people sprang. Moreover, these Aborigines have recognized the importance of the sexual act in causing conception and pregnancy. This natural sequence of events has many parallels in the animal life they observe about them. Throughout the myth direct references are made to sexual intercourse, while symbolic references in both the myth and songs are numerous. The *rangga* poles, the yam stick, *mamwulan*, *djuda* and *djanda* are themselves penis symbols, an interpretation made quite frankly by the Aborigines themselves. The poles, for instance, are kept hidden within the *ngaiumara*, and removed from time to time for drying, thus symbolizing coitus (penis in vagina as a projection of the uterus), and drying the penis after intercourse when it has become 'wet' with semen and vaginal juices. Or the *mamwulan* is plunged into the earth, so that water gushes forth at its removal; this is compared to coitus, the removal of the penis from the vagina, and the subsequent flow of seminal and vaginal juices when the Sisters stand up again. Waterholes themselves are vulva symbols, used frequently in Aboriginal song and mythology, while trees (for example, the *djuda*) are penis symbols, and their roots are called by the term used for penis (*vide* songs). A great deal of this erotic symbolism is expressed in sacred ritual, in posturing and actions.

From this we see something of the importance of sexual intercourse. To the Aborigines, as to us, sex and food are basic drives. Whatever subsidiary drives exist, these two are fundamental, for upon them human life, as they know it, depends. The Aborigines are apt to stress the importance of the sexual drive. 'How else', they say, 'can we continue as a group? By what other means can we obtain food except by its natural increase?' Thus even certain forms of plant life are divided into male and female sexes. Sexual intercourse is felt to be necessary for survival, in so far as the human and animal world is concerned, although this survival depends ultimately on forces beyond the Aborigines' control—on seasonal fluctuation, and on the sun, and so we come back to the significance underlying the Djanggawul. The Aborigines of north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land consequently pay much attention to sexual matters, and their attitude towards this subject is one of utmost frankness.[1] To them, sexual intercourse is an essential

[1] *Vide* Introduction to *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land* (R. and C. Berndt), Viking Fund Series in Anthropology, Yale University, 1951. No 16.

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lindaridj parakeets flying over the mainland, the sun's rays catching the redness of their breast feathers. There was a constant roar of waves pounding on the beach. They paddled farther into the bay, coming to the Garingan rock, and saw the wide curving beach of Jelangbara. They sang with joy, and allowed the surf to take their canoe into the shallow water.

Then they dragged their canoe on to the beach and unloaded it, making this a sacred place. Jelangbara is the largest Djanggawul centre in north-eastern Arnhem Land and, to-day, the most important.

Here the Djanggawul Brother wished to shorten his Sister's clitorises. But the elder Sister said, 'No, wait till we reach Arnhem Bay. We can have a good rest, and put Dreamings there.' So they walked around, still dragging the clitorises and elongated penis, leaving marks on the ground which may be seen to-day.

Leaving their canoe, the Djanggawul walked along the coast until they came to Ngadibalji, where they saw the *djawuldjawul* mangrove bird. Here too the Djanggawul Brother left his hairbelt, but retained the parakeet-feathered waist-band and arm-bands he was wearing. The hairbelt is now a long sandhill. On the sandhill, were track marks of the *damurmindjari* (*damburindari* or *waburunggu*) wild duck; these birds were eating the *murnji*, or wild peanut roots. On the opposite side was a large barren sandhill, on the surface of which were tracks of the *djanda* goanna, as well as of many birds. A *gamaru* tree with non-edible 'apple'-like nuts was growing there too. This tree is sacred; it is a *jirijiri* bullroarer tree,[1] and to-day only those who are very old may look upon it. Here the Djanggawul paused and heard again the cry of the *ngadili* (*dangadilji* or *rirambung*) black cockatoo. Here too is the sacred waterhole, *milngur*, which the Djanggawul made by inserting the *mauwulan rangga* pole: a spring flows from it down to the beach. It is said that the four Beings entered this hole, and made their camp within.

Later, they walked farther along, and saw two *djanda* goanna resting on the peak of a sandhill. 'Ah,' said the Brother, 'I am very surprised to see this goanna. I had better put it Dreaming (*wongar*) for this country.' *Banggulí* is the goannas' 'inside' sacred name. The goanna crawled up the smooth surface of the sandhill, dislodging the sand. It attempted to climb on to the sacred *djuda* pole (that is, tree) the Djanggawul had placed there, but could not do so, because the Djanggawul were still there. To-day the *djuda* ironwood (or 'black' bark) tree is still there, at Mauwulanggalngu, where it grew from the sacred *rangga*.

[1] The connexion with a bullroarer is not clear, for this object is not now used in the *dua nara* ceremonies, but only in the *kunapipi*. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters III and IV.

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to-day. From the ends that were cut off they made feathered string, 773
and hung it in a sacred shade.

The Djanggawul Brother opened Miralaidj's legs a little, and kneeling before her inserted his penis into her up to its first notch or 'ring' (see Fig. 1). Then he ejaculated, and as he withdrew his penis, people too emerged from the uterus. This was just like the Brother's poking his *mauwulan* into the ground, so that water gushed forth. However, not enough people came from her, so Bildjiwuraroiju helped her. Miralaidj was not yet big enough in the belly, and had insufficient children inside her to fulfil the needs of this country. Nevertheless, most of the people came from her, and only a small proportion from the elder Sister.

At last the Djanggawul reached Gwroidjura (meaning 'to hold and copulate with her'); the Brother grabbed his elder Sister and opened her legs, holding her as he inserted his penis so that half of it went into her vagina. Then he ejaculated, and as he withdrew it people came flowing out.

They continued on until they reached Walinjina, where the Djanggawul Brother poked his *mauwulan* into the ground making several wells. To-day, there are three ordinary waterholes, and four tabu-ed ones. [823]

The three Djanggawul walked towards them and sat down, beginning to dig for the lily worm (*wida* or *gwoiida*), and singing about it.

Then they went on until they reached Maiilwi, where they heard the big *dua* flying fox. The Brother turned to his Sisters, 'You two Sisters, you can wait for me,' he said. 'I am going down to see what's there.' He walked away from them, to a place where he saw all these flying foxes hanging in a special tree. Then he returned to the Sisters. 'I saw a lot of flying foxes there, Sisters,' he said. 'What shall we do, leave them?'

'Let us just sing about them,' replied the Sisters.

But the Brother asked, 'Do you think we can get them all, kill them?'

'No,' insisted the elder Sister, 'we don't want to get them.' She turned to Miralaidj. 'What do you think, young Sister?'

'No,' agreed Miralaidj. 'We will leave them, because they are our own special flying fox.'

'All right,' answered their Brother, 'we shall leave this place.'

They went on, and as they approached Dambojowoi they heard the sound of water (from which the place takes its name). When they reached there they saw Buralindjingu, a very old dreaming man of the Maidjara linguistic group. He was sitting down meditating, but looked up and turned round when he heard the footsteps of the Djanggawul. 'Well, you three,' he said, 'you two women

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and left deposits of red ochre[1] at Warnggawoi and Gulmanbi spring. 773

Before the Djanggawul left Nguruninana, two novices were circumcised, a *mora* and a *gurlwu*. These two boys[2] were sitting in 773 a big shade undergoing the circumcisional rites. When cut in the 304 camp they were called *gamajadi*, and then, on being taken out to their seclusion shade, they were called *galibingu*. This was the first time circumcision had been carried out in that region. Afterwards it became a general practice, because the Djanggawul had 'made it a big dreaming.'[3] But the Djanggawul Brother himself was never 'cut' or circumcised in this way: he only shortened his penis. He is said to have circumcised the young boys 'because he didn't want the youths' penes to grow long like his'. He made this law for the new generation only, 'a new law for new people.' And he spoke to them, saying, 'It doesn't matter for myself, but it must be a new law for all my new people, all those I have put in this country.'[4]

[1] This red ochre is called *murunggun*, from which the local linguistic group takes its name. The Djanggawul are said to have spoken here: 'We leave this red ochre, so that all the people may get it from us.' Red ochre is symbolic of the afterbirth blood shed by the Two Sisters, or is a 'condensation' of the sun's redness, as symbolized in the red chest feathers of the *lindaridj* parakeets. Today red ochre from Elcho Island is traded far inland, and all along the coast. [P23 438]

[2] Also termed *muralai* or *mulalai*. The old term used to describe this stage was *galibingu* or *galingurn*: the novices are called by this term, or *galamunja* (referring to their penes), while undergoing the rites, and cannot use their real names. The real names of these two were, however, Nganangu and Bralbral, both of the *dua* moiety. The latter is said not to be the same as the Bralbral who accompanied the Djanggawul from Bralgu. These two novices went back and forth from the general camp to their sacred shade. (Among the north-eastern Arnhem Landers there is not the strict seclusion of circumcision novices found in most other parts of Australia.)

[3] In another version it is said that a son of the Djanggawul, a *marlgu* flying fox, was circumcised at Blue Mud Bay; his foreskin was kept and waxed into a feathered string pendant attached to a sacred dilly bag, as is the practice to-day. The reason given for the circumcision is that the Djanggawul Brother discovered that his children (those removed from the Two Sisters) were sleeping together, and indulging in incestuous relations with one another (as the Djanggawul themselves were in the habit of doing). At first he did not realize what they were doing, but one day he found them copulating together. Then he 'changed his mind' and cut (circumcised) the penes of the young boys (his sons), 'because they had slept with their sisters: that was their punishment'.

[4] Informants remark, 'He had been going on in the old way until that time, just like those people at Goulburn Islands, and the Gunwinggu, and others of western Arnhem Land. All those people haven't adopted the new law. If the Djanggawul Brother put it at those places, the people there have missed the law—but we, the north-eastern and north-central people, did not miss his law.'

Another version states that the Djanggawul started circumcision 'because he was pushed out by new people' (in the dreaming concept of *jiritia*, spring water).

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Epilogue

importance of physiological paternity has not, moreover, been left a vague issue. The complementary rôles of male and female are established traditionally, both symbolically and (to a lesser degree) directly.

In addition to these, and in varying degrees linked with them, there are a number of subsidiary threads. There are four predominating themes, all in some degree interrelated, and almost invariably used in conjunction with the *ngainmara-rangga* concept. The first is crystallized in the umbilical cord, which is symbolically manifested in a variety of forms, the most important being the elongated clitorises of the Two Djanggawul Sisters, the long penis of the Brother, the prepuce, rays from the Morning Star, rays from the setting sun, feathered strings, and so on. Various examples are found in the Songs: the Djanggawul Brother cuts his long penis, after he and his companions have stolen the sacred basket and *rangga* from the Sisters; he shortens his Sisters' clitorises after the theft, when he and his companions have taken over control of the *nara*; and feathered strings removed from the *ngainmara* are arranged on the surface of the ground. The ideal illustration of the theme is as follows: *rangga* folk have their foreskins cut immediately after they have issued from the *ngainmara*-uterus, the foreskin symbolizing the umbilical cord, and its cutting their severance from the Mother; this is the intent of circumcisional initiation, with its subsequent 'rebirth'.

The second theme is connected with the sun. This element is symbolically manifested in several ways, the most obvious being: rays of light from the setting sun; the red reflections from the sunset, caught on the breast feathers of the *lindaridj* parakeet; the feathered *rangga* strings, the sacred basket pendants and the hair string waistband intertwined with red feathers; the parakeet itself, with breast and throat feathers; fire; blood (flowing after birth, at menstruation, or as a result of the Djanggawul Brother's breaking the arm-band blockage in the younger Sister's vagina); red ochre; and the red walls of the vagina or labia majora. One of the most strongly emphasized of these is the parakeet, with its red breast feathers, constantly appearing throughout the cycle.

The third theme relates to water, in its fresh or salt manifestations. The pattern is set during the initial stage of the Djanggawul's journey to the north Australian mainland. The movement of the sea is brought about (or intensified) through their paddling, and the presence of fish and marine creatures. This causes the ebb and flow of the tides. When the Djanggawul leave the sea to travel inland, and later along the coast, this theme is continued in the well waters rising and overflowing in conjunction with the tidal fluctuations. Even when the wells predominate, however, the sea